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ABSTRACT

Evolutionary processes are described for Native (American Indian) voluntary associations in the U.S. and Canada in aboriginal times, in the twentieth century generally, and in cities specifically. These processes at different times and in different social settings are shown to be related to each other through specific historic continuities and through the common neurological nature of mankind. Humans seem to be innately programmed to spontaneously generate symbols and mental structures through emotion-bearing communications within small social groups. Understanding these universal and innate human propensities helps us to understand why there are strong continuities in some dimensions of culture and massive changes in other dimensions while the cultural system as a whole undergoes cultural evolution. Humans, viewed from the point of view of the ethology of human individuals, have kept reproducing very similar social-ideological structures while the broader cultural system has evolved to increasingly integrate a global society. (Author)

U. S. AND CANADIAN NATIVE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS: CONTINUITIES WITHIN THE EVOLUTION OF CULTURE*

by

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Abstract

Evolutionary processes are described for Native voluntary associations in the U. S. and Canada in aboriginal times, in the twentieth century generally, and in cities specifically. These processes at different times and in different social settings are shown to be related to each other through specific historic continuities and through the common neurological nature of mankind. Humans seem to be innately programmed to spontaneously generate symbols, to mentally structure a perceptual universe relative to human action, and to individually validate those symbols and mental structures through emotion-bearing communications within small social groups. Understanding these universal and innate human propensities helps us to understand why there are strong continuities in some dimensions of culture and massive changes in other dimensions while the cultural system as a whole undergoes cultural evolution. Humans, viewed from the point-of-view of the ethology of human individuals, have kept reproducing very similar social-ideological structures while the broader cultural system has evolved to increasingly integrate a global society.

Theories About Voluntary Associations

Sociologists have usually been satisfied with explaining voluntary associations in terms of correlations (the urban proliferation) and typologies (instrumental or expressive). They have used a theory of social determinism that ignores or diminishes innate behaviors and ideologies. They usually assume that it is not necessary to explain origins or existence, but only to describe the form of the social structure and how it operates. This is useful in building up a framework for comparative ethnology, but it does not in itself explain certain fundamental processes involved in voluntary associations.

A more dynamic, social anthropological, model was developed by Hammond (1972:18). She writes that associations can be understood as social clusterings of those individuals with similar roles within the increasing diversification of roles.

> The associations of any society can most readily be related to the social roles inherent in the system. The coexistence and cooperation of social life demand regularity in behavior. . . the individual is

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> assigned a social role which governs his behavior. The inventory of roles in a culture reflects all aspects of the structure of the society. . . The greater the differentiation of roles, the greater the probability of the elaboration of associations. Persons who have a particular role in common may form an association. The role is common to all of them and at the same time distinguishes them from the rest of society.

There is truth in Hammond's model, but we still need to know why we find this correlation between a differentiation of roles and the florescence of voluntary associations, why they are formed. Also the model itself does not explain the exceptions to the rule. If we hold the degree of role differentiation constant in cross-cultural samples, we find a range of variation in the extent to which voluntary associations are formed. For example, it appears that there are more voluntary associations in capitalistic than in communistic nations with the same degree of role elaboration.

In an evolutionary analysis of voluntary associations, Anderson (1971) claims that there are variations in the extent and types of voluntary associations among different societies of the same evolutionary level. He also sees a decline in the numbers and importance of voluntary associations after the band and neolithic sodalities and during the evolutionary stage of the preindustrial state. Thus, the increase in voluntary associations is not a straight-line mathematical function of either urbanization or the differentiation of roles.

> Even though voluntary associations were prominant in the neolithic, and even though they have become prominant in recent, post-industrial societies, they were often restricted or absent in major parts of stratified, urban societies of the preindustrial sort. ... in traditional civilizations . . . sodalities were confined mainly to the merchant class. Peasants and the elite generally organized solely in terms of territory and kinship. . . The ruling class in an agrarian nation is normally small enough to constitute a face-to-face society. . . Sodalities would be superfluous." (pp. 213-214).

Anderson writes that a new type of "rational-legal" voluntary association then proliferated in the industrial state with "written statutes clearly defining the membership, participant obligations, leadership roles, and conditions of convocation."

> It normally possesses a legally recognized corporate identity. It is rational in the sense that as a body it is geared to efficiency in making decisions and taking action, particularly as leaders are, in principle at least, impartially chosen by election of the most qualified to take office. It is legal in the sense that compliance in decisions and actions is sanctioned by the impersonal force of law. (p. 215).

The Anderson study is a pioneering effort of evolutionary synthesis, but I question his finding of a pre-industrial slump and the degree to which modern associations are in fact rational and legal. The finding of variations at the same evolutionary level I think is correct. I propose that both the increase with increased role differentiation that Hammond described and the variations

that Anderson described can be accounted for by a theory of voluntary associations based on both innate behavior and the evolution of culture.

Voluntary, Peripheral, Instrumental-Expressive, Factions

I define the voluntary association as a social group with a distinct ideology and recruitment through the relatively free action of affiliation of individuals. By contrast, the non-voluntary or core associations are those social groups which individuals participate in by virtue of their primary (birth) ascriptive conditions, such as sex, age, kinship, and race, or secondary ascriptive conditions that are directly derived from one's childhood enculturation, usually including residence, religion, and occupation. The point of making this analytical distinction is that voluntariness is the essence of voluntary associations. They contrast with those associations for which we have an extremely narrowed choice of affiliation.

In the urban context individuals are more often forced to make "voluntary" affiliations. There is a freedom from social constraints in anonymity and in the pure sense of freedom it is like the condition of the greater freedom of the frontiersman in a low population area and unlike the condition of the rural village or townsman. There is also a difference here in that the city dweller's freedom is checked by impersonal laws while the frontiersman's freedom is checked by association out of boredom and by survival problems.

I see voluntary associations as generally peripheral to both the individual and to society. Individuals in a personal crisis tend to reduce their participation in voluntary associations and increase their participation in ascriptive associations. They are peripheral to society in that they are not essential for the normal operations of the society, that if they were eliminated the society would continue to survive. They are also peripheral in the sense that they have specialized ideologies that diverge in some way from normal society-wide ideologies.

The essence of the ideology and recruitment of voluntary associations is that it is peripheral to ascription by birth and the early enculturation of children. Not every society has voluntary associations and among those that do the relevant life experiences, as well as the simple capacity to take a voluntary action, occur during the teenage and adult years. Voluntary associations are designed primarily to meet the needs of adults. Thus, for example, Cub Scouts would generally not be considered a voluntary association for the Cub Scouts themselves at the time of their initial affiliation but only for their parents and the scout leaders. The age range is so low that the children do not have real alternatives and individual decisions when they join the association. The parents volunteer the children, and thus socialize them into participation in voluntary association activities.

There is a wide variety of U.S. and Canadian Indian voluntary associations, but generally they seem to be more closely linked to their ascriptive associations than the voluntary associations of the majority. They are less peripheral to the ascriptive associations. Thus, for example, Indian adults more often bring their children along to association meetings and other activities. They are usually urban-centered, but often rural-oriented to where the majority of Indians still live. They more often serve ends that are simultaneously perceived as relevant to the ascriptive side of life: political action for increased control of Indian lands and resources, revitalizing traditional Indian culture,

and so forth.

Voluntary associations are small, innovative, cultural systems that are built up as additions to the central culture and depend for their continuance upon a vital sense of individual involvement. The more "instrumental" voluntary associations solve the need for ideological involvement better than the "expressive" associations, but they have the perennial problems of followership: insufficient recruitment and attendance if ideological commitment is low and poor conformity and factionalism if ideological commitment is high. Among U.S. and Canadian ethnic groups where ideological commitment is currently high, such as Chinese, Greeks, and Jews, as well as U.S. and Canadian Indians, there is an extreme proliferation of voluntary association factions. The associations of Jews and Natives, at diametrically opposite ends of the continuum of urbanization, are both calling on the majority society for action on their behalf.

There is little proliferation of factional associations among ethnic groups that have a low ideological commitment, such as Italians and Japanese. The more "expressive" associations solve the need for emotionally satisfying, small-scale, social involvement, but suffer the poor attendance that comes with the easy deferment of leisure activities. It also appears that ethnic groups with a low ideological commitment tend toward expressive associations: Italians in Toronto have associations that hold village-of-origin picnics and the Japanese have craft, music, and drama programs in their beautiful cultural center.

Functions: Neurological, Latent, and Expressed

Voluntary associations flourish in settings where there are competing ideologies for the commitment of adults and where the general cultural ideology is amorphous, where religious, political, aesthetic, or other ideologies do not instill enough meaning in the lives of individuals. Humans need motivated membership, affirmation through communication of their learned and elaborated symbols. Voluntary associations are inventions we create to solve our needs for secure, validated, involvements that are enclaved and exclusive, symbolic and social. The culturally defined ends of the association are secondary to these neurological needs, because voluntariness means that individuals can easily drop out if their personal needs are not being met. The perennial complaint of leaders of voluntary associations is that their followers are not sufficiently committed. In the well-run voluntary association every member has an important job to do. These neurological functions seem to be primary and irreducible functions of voluntary associations.

There are many possible secondary, social functions, generally called "latent" because they are postulates of social process used by social scientists: socialization, preservation of the social order, initiation of useful social action, and so forth. Finally, there are the tertiary, "expressed", social functions that are often obvious in the title if the association is named: All Indian Rodeo Association (Cardston, Alberta); United Indian War Veterans (El Cajon, California); Winnipeg Indian and Metis Tenant's Association; and so forth.

The voluntary association can be viewed as an intermediate stage through which social functions, both latent and expressed, may pass in the process of

their institutionalization. That is, some foci of informal concerns of friends, relatives, or neighbors may become the objects of instrumental action in voluntary associations and finally the activity of publicly-oriented institutions. Religions, businesses, unions, political parties, and so forth have often passed through a voluntary association stage in the process of their institutionalization. In both the general evolution of culture and the short-run evolution involved in the institutionalization of many social activities voluntary associations have been part of the transfer toward the creation of a permanent, publicly-oriented and publicly-supported organization.

The Neurological Patterning of Social Groups

Biologically and thus neurologically individuals are essentially the same in all societies. They thus develop idiocultures that universally involve roughly the same range of total mental complexity, although we see trade-offs or balances in different spheres of mental demands (Price 1973, 1975B). For example, much effort in religious contemplation or intellectual concerns may require some retreat from the mental demands of socializing for a comfortable psychological equilibrium. The other side of human neurology from excessive demand is the distress of boredom, where we search for more social diversity and more meaning and personal significance, where our playful primate brains symbolically elaborate ideologies and social stratagems.

There is some correlation between increased size in social groupings and decreases in the need for people to relate to each other on the basis of reciprocal personal knowledge or obligations. We substitute mentally easy social roles, rituals, prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping, and so forth for the information on the details on each other's lives and for the unique social interactions that we have with intimate persons. The evolution of culture has continually enhanced the individual's neurological equilibrium by patterning increased shallowness into social and ideological relationships in relation to increased social distance. The reciprocal of this is that even in the largest and most complex societies we still have intimate enclaves where there is sharing (Price 1975) and the emotional security of social and ideological (and material, eg., homes) redundancy, where we can retreat from excessive stimulation. The primary character of voluntary associations seems to be as one of these humanizing enclaves, and they flourish when primary and secondary ascriptive associations fail to satisfy the neurological nature of humans.

One of the central processes within the evolution of culture is the creation of structures which allow individuals to continue to be biologically and neurologically the same, while they increase their energy per capita, their knowledge of the world, and so forth. Thus, systematically, through every feature of culture, the elaboration of cultural systems over tens of thousands of years has been by, and necessarily related to, the natural propensities of individuals that have remained essentially the same. The increased differentiation within society that comes with the evolution of culture is accompanied by the development of internal social spheres that approximate in one form or another the Palaeolithic-Mesolithic residential community of the band level society. This evolution was achieved by the invention of such socially regulating things as roles, offices, classes, castes, races, and ultimately various social groups, including those specialized social-ideological enclaves we call voluntary associations.

On the Indian reservation the social institutions that an individual can adequately relate to are fairly well defined by limited tribal groups, common residence, and kinship-friendship networks. In the city approximately the same human range of associations are separated out from an infinitely more complex total field of behaviors through an involvement in a limited set of institutions. This isolating, institutionalization of behavior is probably the only structural way that cultures could have become increasingly more complex while individuals remained intellectually the same. That is, the general design of intimate integration of people through personal ties in primary communities was replaced in more evolved settings with functionally specialized institutions, at least some of which retained personal intimacy. Indian voluntary associations, regardless of their explicit functions such as politics or welfare, typically are small and intimate enough to provide a social environment that is psychologically comfortable.

In practice, the city's great diversity is not open to the new Indian migrant because of his poor knowledge of city life and his learned dependence on government and church agencies and on a limited kinship-friendship network. Racial discrimination was once a limitation as well on freedom of choice, but has been largely eliminated for Indians in the major cities. New migrants make poor members, either as leaders or followers, in urban voluntary associations. By the time that Indian migrants are sufficiently adjusted to urban life to enthusiastically participate in formal ethnic voluntary associations they are retreating from an excess freedom of choice, narrowing down the conception of their personal identity. The most active voluntary association members are acculturated, middle class people who find more personal meaning in the Indian social enclaves, typically relating both to romantic and heroic symbols from the "noble savage" tradition and to the historic and ongoing political struggle of Natives against the White establishment. Their gains through participation are not material, but social and ideological.

Ethnic voluntary associations are social inventions of state societies that help create a community for individuals with enough familiarity of common custom and tradition; with enough intimate contacts with the same people; and with enough exclusiveness, discrimination, and boundary maintenance to be satisfying to the human brain. Ethnic affiliations, along with some combination of social relations in a neighborhood, an occupation, social class, and so forth, may be used by individuals living in a complex urban environment to define out a social sphere that is complex enough to be satisfying and simple enough to be workable and not lead to excess mental stress. Continuities and limitations in physical and ideological dimensions are inherent in these limited social associational spheres. Further definition of the nature of associations can be done through an evolutionary synthesis.

Aboriginal Associations

Voluntary associations did not exist in simple "band" level hunting and gathering societies, such as those of the aboriginal Arctic, Sub-Arctic, Plateau, Great Basin, and large parts of northern Mexico. These were very low energy societies with small and scattered populations that were organized by bilateral kinship, egalitarian residential community politics, and an economics of sharing through the division of labor by sex, age, and skill. Some of these did contain sodalities, and thus had the rudiments of associational organization.

A sodality is any small-scale organized social group not primarily patterned by kinship or common residence. Where these did occur in band level societies, however, they were neither exclusive nor voluntary but society-wide sex and age groupings, usually involving participation after a puberty ritual. Some had religious cults but these typically took some society-wide form, such as religious schooling sodalities for all adult males or curing sodalities for apprentices to shamanism. In relatively affluent band-to-tribe-transition societies there were, for example, such things as the Kuksu cults of central California with their dramatized impersonations of supernatural beings and the Chunichnish cults of southern California with their vision quest initiation for boys that used the hallucinogen Datura. I do not think we should call these voluntary associations because there was very little freedom in the choice to join or not.

As societies evolved in settings of greater energy per capita, particularly with intensive fishing or gardening, they developed what is called a "tribal" level of culture. This included societies within the two regional traditions of agriculture in the U.S.: the Southwestern Pueblo tradition and most of those in the Eastern tradition (which extended in late prehistoric times into southeastern Canada). It also included the horse riding, buffalo hunting societies of the Plains in historic times.

The general population was much greater at the tribal level, invariably greater than one person per square mile, and the size and permanence of residential communities was greater than in band level societies, the population usually being more than fifty persons. There was a considerable development of lineal kinship groups and sodalities in tribal societies as mechanisms of societal integration, politically, economically, and ideologically. Reciprocity or equivalence calculations became the basis of economic reasoning, beyond the sharing of such intimate spheres as households and hunting teams. A psychologically comfortable social sphere was also created in the design of the sodality by members' extension to each other of their belief in a common ideology, mutual social acceptance, cooperation in sodality activities, and perhaps some sharing of material goods.

Initiation activities, religious sects with their dances and dramatizations, and curing and medicine activities shifted toward more formalization in the band-tribe evolutionary shift. Ritual, costuming, body decoration, ideology, naming and identification of supernaturals, and so forth became more formalized with a more standard symbolic content. We think here of the Kiva societies with their Kachina cults among the Southwest Pueblos, the warrior societies of the Plains, and the medicine societies of the Northeast, such as Midewiwin of the Great Lakes area or the False Face Society of the Iroquois. The Plains warrior societies particularly could be called "voluntary associations" in that voluntariness was genuinely present, instead of the determination of membership simply in terms of such ascriptive or universal criteria as common sex, age, residence, kinship, or completion of the puberty ceremony. In the Plains several different associations were present and individuals had an option to joint or not, although most of the societies were restricted to men with good military records.

There were more advanced "chiefdoms" among the agriculturalists of the Southeast U.S. and along the Northwest Coast with more centralization of politics, redistribution in economics, a greater development of arts and crafts, and so forth. The rich fishing societies of the Northwest elaborated secret and restricted sodalities, although membership was sometimes limited to people who had been cured

by a medicine society or to persons of high rank who had inherited the right to play certain roles in the dramas of the sodality (Driver 1969). These dramas reenacted an ancestor's encounter with a spirit who kidnapped him, took him to the woods where he was given supernatural powers, and then returned to his village where he demonstrated his new powers. The Kwakiutl, for example, had three mutually exclusive secret sodalities with elaborate public performances that included costumed dancers and visual and auditory illusions.

At the still more advanced level of the state society, with its intensive agriculture, priestly religion, and legal structure, we find a progressively greater elaboration of sodalities. Among the state societies of central and southern Mexico, such as the Aztecs, there was an elaborate system of schools, priestly orders, military orders, religious cults, and guilds. There is a general, world-wide correlation between urbanism and the proliferation of voluntary associations and this seems to have been as true for the Native North American cities as it was for those of other continents. States are so large and so structured that they have considerable internal cultural diversity: rural-urban, linguistic, religious, and other multiculturalism. This environment of cultural diversity is a fertile one for the growth of voluntary associations.

Diversity is also a problem that has to be controlled by state societies. An official state culture is thus fostered by the agencies of the state. There is standardization of language, religion, law, and political procedure among the ruling class in order to maintain some central integration within the society. These forces of central integration may crush elements of diversity that are perceived as potentially threatening to the state while other harmless cultural differences are allowed to continue. Thus the ethnicities that diverge from the official state culture are typically very thin in content, not much more than harmless aesthetic traditions of music, dance, costuming, and literature.

One of the most radical actions a sub-culture can take in a state society is to behave as a separate and different kind of society that refuses to be integrated into the state cultural system. When U.S. and Canadian Indian societies did this they were physically enclaved on reservations. The relative isolation of reservations then contributed to the continuity and original elaboration of a culture that is separate from that of the dominant sub-culture within the nation state. However, even this separatism has declined and Indians are increasingly integrated into the national culture.

There is some continuing significant cultural separatism in the case of a few reactionary people, such as Joe Smallboy who took a band of several families from the Hobbema Reserve in Alberta and went back into the Rocky Mountains to live an aboriginal way by hunting and fishing. We would have fundamental multiculturalism if tens of thousands of Indians would join in this kind of movement and go back to the bush country. Instead, we have an "ethnic" multi-culturalism, which is very thin in any cultural content that diverges from the national culture. Instead, we have a great wave of new Indian voluntary associations that are designed by Indians as integrative mechanisms between Indians and the dominant culture institutions. This sophisticated associational activity is an indication of their relatively advanced stage of assimilation into the majority society. These associations have an explicit ideology of Indian cultural pride, values, and separatism, but by their very structure and operation they provide an acculturating experience to the Indians who participate in them.

The state, in sum, is a large social system that is premeated by strong integrative mechanisms, particularly by its legal-political and market-administrative systems, but in which people can still live in small, psychologically comfortable, social spheres comparable to those of band level societies: households, neighborhoods, working teams, and voluntary associations that are allowed as compatible with the state society.

Associations of the Historical Period

When people from European societies invaded North America they tended to receive (1) no resistance from band level societies, (2) intense military resistance from tribes, (3) some initial resistance from chiefdoms, but the people would still follow their chiefs and the chiefs could be coerced, and (4) no significant resistance by state peasants (who made relatively tractible workers) once the top Native leadership had been destroyed and replaced by Europeans. Through all of the early years of historical acculturation there was a correlation between a society's aboriginal level of cultural evolution, its degree of militant resistance to White culture, and the formation of voluntary associations.

The band level societies of the Arctic, Sub-Arctic, Plateau, and Great Basin did not have voluntary associations aboriginally and they tended not to form them historically. Peyote churches are a minor exception to this rule in the Great Basin. These people are only now being brought into the late wave of new associations that has arisen in the last ten years or so, after their aboriginal culture has been largely replaced by another, a reservation and city, ethnic culture.

The tribal level societies had a few voluntary associations aboriginally and they did play a moderate role in the early formation of modern voluntary associations. However, one of the most important features of the history of tribal societies was their militant reactions against White dominance, an experience of resistance that was often traumatic if not genocidal to the society. Those tribal societies that survived into the reservation period typically became centers of reactive and revitalistic movements. The chiefdoms of the Southeast also had relatively traumatic relations with White society, most of those left from the genocidal impact of war and disease being forcefully relocated to Oklahoma. The Indians of Oklahoma and tribal societies generally in the Plains developed such major pan-Indian movements as the Ghost Dance (adopted from a beginning in a Great Basin band society), Sun Dance, and Peyotism historically and the militant American Indian Movement currently. People from Oklahoma were also important in the early formation of modern voluntary associations.

The chiefdoms of the Northwest Coast had the most elaborated voluntary associations aboriginally in the area that became Canada and they were the first and foremost to develop them in twentieth century Canada. The Northwest, by contrast with the Plains and Eastern agricultural Indians, had a relatively peaceful period of contact with Whites and thus did not develop reactive associations. Instead, they developed fisherman's unions and "brotherhoods" for men and "homemaker's" associations for women.

A few acculturated Eastern and Plains Indians in the U.S. formed what were relatively pro-acculturation political associations in the early 1900's. These were generally men who were not sufficiently a part of the reservation cultures

to be involved with the tribalistic reactive movements of the Ghost Dance, Sun Dance, Peyotism, and so forth. They did, however, carry a sense of mission and righteous anger and they brought the practical problems of reservation Indians to White society.

One organization called The Society of American Indians was formed in 1911 that stressed Indian racial unity, the "noble savage" virtues of the traditional cultures, and that Natives should make contributions to the general society. Their proposed techniques were almost identical to those of the White middle class, such as acquiring formal White education, deemphasizing tribalism and traditional culture as a solution to modern problems, and the Protestant values of hard work and self help. Different attitudes toward such things as the Indian Bureau, Peyotism, and tribalism divided the Society, but it was still a valuable forum with annual conferences and The American Indian Magazine (Hertzberg 1971). They fought for equality before the law, education, citizenship, and community centers on reservations. A competing journal of the time was Wasaja by an Apache who had been adopted as an infant and raised by Whites (Carlos Montezuma). It was hostile to Whites in the racist terms of the day and yet would pursue a strongly assimilationist course of abolishing the Indian Bureau and the reservations, giving Indians U.S. citizenship and White educations.

The Mission Indian Federation was formed in Southern California in 1919 as a pro-assimilationist, anti-government organization fighting for aboriginal land and water rights (Price 1971). There were also several urban clubs of Whites and acculturated Indians in the 1920's: Chicago's Grand Council Fire of the American Indians; Seattle's National Society of Indian Women; and four clubs in Los Angeles: American Indian Progressive Association, an Indian women's club, the Wigwam Club for Native dancing, and the War Paint Club for Indians in the movie industry.

A White anthropologist, John Collier, organized the American Indian Defense Association in 1923, which did such things as protect Pueblo rights to land and to hold ceremonies, fight for citizenship (given in the U.S. in 1924 largely for the valiant role of Indians as soldiers in World War I), fight for the values of tribal cultures, and formed the Committee of One Hundred to advise the Secretary of the Interior of Indian Policy. Activities of the Committee led to the Meriam Report in 1928, which led to a broad range of improvements in Indian administration, particularly through the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

Collier became a revolutionary Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He encouraged Native social controls through tribal self-government, home-rule constitutions, and treating tribes as corporate bodies. Indians were encouraged to participate more in the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and were given more opportunities for advanced and professional education, but at the same time encouraged to continue traditional education, arts, crafts, and religious practices. All later U.S. and Canadian Indian movements have drawn from these anthropological ideals, although they were designed for the reservation Indians that anthropologists knew and not the new wave of urban Indians.

In 1944 the National Congress of American Indians was formed in Denver and it continued to support the reforms of the 1930's. The 1961 meeting of this Congress was broadened in scope, under the guidance of the anthropologist Sol Tax and his students, into the Chicago Indian Conference. These meetings became a general review of Indian policy to make recommendations for the administration of President John F. Kennedy. The official recommendations were important at one level, but a

number of young Indian college students and graduates attended, were dissatisfied with the conservative methods of the older Indian leaders, and formed the more militant National Indian Youth Council. This organization developed a campaign to fight for tribalism and for local problems on a tribe-by-tribe basis, by using the tactics of the current civil rights movement. Thus, for example, they started by staging "fish-ins" to secure Indian fishing rights.

A White fraternal society called the Arctic Brotherhood became the model for the first modern Indian association in the north, The Alaska Native Brotherhood. This was formed in 1912 by ten relatively acculturated Indians in Sitka, Alaska with the avowed goal of acculturation and fought for citizenship rights for Natives, educational facilities, and ending aboriginal customs. The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia was formed in 1931 by Haida and Tsimshian fishermen from chiefdom societies somewhat on the model of the Alaskan organization and it, in turn, became a model for other brotherhoods across the Canadian provinces. The Allied Tribes of British Columbia is another early group that fought for the 1912 "Nishga Petition" requests for land allotments and remunerations on the basis of "aboriginal rights".

In 1936 the Pacific Coast Native Fisherman's Association was organized at Alert Bay, primarily of Kwakiutls to coordinate an Indian labor strike at the same time as a strike being held by White fishermen. It evolved into an Indian Fisherman's Union and finally joined the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia in 1942, thus bringing the Kwakiutls into an association with the Tsimshian and Haida. The Nimpkish Fisherman's Association was also formed in this period on the west coast of Vancouver Island, primarily of Nootka Indians. The Brotherhood of Canadian Indians was then formed in 1943 around the core of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia and the Pacific Coast Native Fisherman's Association. They contacted other Indians across Canada but were largely unsuccessful in their attempts to expand the organization, becoming an organization essentially of certain West Coast Indians from chiefdom societies, although the name was changed to the even more grandiose title of The North American Indian Brotherhood. However, other provincial associations did form in the later 1940's and 1950's and they followed the organizational model of the West Coast "brotherhoods", except that separate organizations were developed by status and non-status Indians.

In Canada in the 1940's the anthropologist Diamond Jenness pushed the New Zealand handling of the Maori as one ideal model and the Danish handling of the Greenland Eskimo as another positive case. He argued that, because the Natives were relatively few in number and without political influence, Parliament voted barely enough money to fulfill treaty obligations. He also criticized Indian Affairs as being too involved with its administrative routines and forgetting its clientele. Reverend Peter Kelly, a Haida chief and leader in the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, pressed for the Maori system of communal representation in government.

In this early period there was little following, just the same people in one meeting after another, although the names of the associations changed slightly. However, they did speak to the government agencies about the frustrations of many Indians who were not association members. At first they tended to be tribally oriented, then they began shifting to include a broader stage finally in the late 1950's as common land claims and the anti-assimilation movement brought greater unity to the Native people.

Parallel movements in the U.S. and Canada in the 1950's and 1960's led the federal governments to push for a decrease and eventual end to special federal services to Indians. The governments talked of this in very positive and even liberating terms. A U.S. House of Representatives Resolution in 1953 said that it is the policy of Congress to end the Indian status as "Wards of the United States and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship". The catch is that they already had all those rights and prerogatives as well as reservations and additional rights due them through treaties. In Canada the Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, said that "It is inconceivable that one section of the society should have a treaty with another section of a society. The Indians should become Canadians as have all other Canadians.". This kind of movement was opposed by an increasingly well organized Native opposition to continue and even to expand federal servi[illegible] allow for much greater Native influence on the design and staffing of [illegible]. Indians are forcing White society to anguish over the Indian dilemma or how to simultaneously pursue two desirable but mutually incompatible ends: traditional culture and modern medicine, education, and material advantages.

General Design Features

American Indian reservation institutions are unusual in the extent to which they have traditionally been designed and staffed by non-Native people. This developed out of the unusual arrangements related to the conquest, dominance, and the tutelage of Native peoples in an internal national colonialism in the U.S. and Canada. Native societies did maintain some ancient tribal institutions and they developed many new ones to meet the changing circumstances of their lives, but their designs were heavily influenced by and subordinate to non-Native contexts of culture, such as the federal reservation systems and Indian laws. Local band or tribal councils usually operate according to models set down by federal government agencies. Band membership and land ownership are legalistically defined. Kinship, marriage, and divorce must conform to White-man's law. Plant gathering, hunting, trapping, fishing, and farming are severely restricted in terms of legal areas, legal times, and legal means. People outside the reservation community plan and carry out the education and medical care of the community. Christian missionary programs provide religious services to the community and displace Native religious practices. The individual is forced into the role of a consumer of services that emanate from outside the community.

In this situation of relative powerlessness it is not surprising to see that Indians have experienced a deculturation of values, that leadership skills have declined, that few Indians ever become entrepreneurs, that the motivation to become educated is low, and so forth. It is only through the experience of at least some self-determination that the community becomes motivated and integrated. Reservations can only become socially viable when they have some significant self-determination of their institutions. In lieu of that possibility in years of the recent past, some of the most important developments in Indian ethnic institutions have been centered in the voluntary associations that first developed in urban areas and are now beginning to force the liberation of reservation institutions.

There has been historically a progressive ethnicization both within particular associations and across the network of Indian ethnic institutions. Ethnicization involves a reinterpretation of every aspect of life in terms of the ethnic culture.

Thus, there is a new way of looking at history, a new way of looking at politics, a new way of looking at religion, and so forth. There is an important interplay in this progressive ethnicization between acculturated and unacculturated people. The ethnic institution may be started by Whites, and then acculturated Indians are recruited into it or it may be started directly by acculturated Indians. The clientele, however, are usually the less acculturated people and as they get involved they try to redirect the institution to their ends, rather than to the ends of [illegible]ites or acculturated Indians.

Many Indian voluntary associations have formed as a response to an issue and then died out as the issue faded in importance. For example, the Cold Lake Native Youth Organization in Alberta was formed during a local school boycott in 1972 and formally folded some eight months after the strike.

Others have evolved over the years, slowly changing their names, membership, and policies. For example, in 1957 the National Commission on the Indian Canadian was formed, essentially as a committee of concerned Whites in the Canadian Association for Adult Education. In 1960 it was reorganized as the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, took on many more Native people as members, shifted toward becoming a general action research agency and advocate for all Native people, and established a research library in Toronto. Responding to direct pressure from increasingly powerful Native association, in 1972 it was reorganized again with the new name of the Canadian Association in Support of Native People. Research projects were shifted to Native political associations and the central office was moved from Toronto to Ottawa in order to more effectively serve a political lobby function in support of the National Indian Brotherhood (formed in 1968, out of the National Indian Council of Canada, which in turn was formed in 1961), the Native Council of Canada (Metis, 1969), and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Eskimo, 1971).

Modern Indian voluntary associations usually retain enough of the traditional cultural influences to operate in a different way than those of White society. The typical comment of Whites is that they are inefficient. Meetings of social events so rarely start on time that the idea of a slower "Indian time" is a standing joke among Indians. In meetings people are allowed to make long, rambling, and personal statements that have little bearing on the issues at hand. Final decisions are often not taken by quick formal votes, but just talked out until some general consensus of action is agreed upon.

Men have more often learned the traditional styles of relaxed leadership and consensus politics while women have not and tend to use modern, "efficient" styles. In speech making men will more often be self-deprecatory; say things such as "I'm speaking only for myself"; use a rather personal, joking, and story-telling style to make his points; and end with something formal, such as "And that's all I have to say.". Indian women deal more directly with the issues at hand.

In some cases a White association is completely reworked into a form that is compatible with a Native society. For example, Indian chapters of Alcoholics Anonymous are very common in the cities, usually meeting in a church or an urban Indian center. The methods of anonymity, confession of drinking as a bad thing through testimonials, and the buddy-system to keep each other from drinking work better for the more acculturated Indians. Reservation Indians tend to be more tolerant of aggressive drunken comportment, but when they do use coercion they bring down social pressure through community and kinship mechanisms, not anonymous or individualistic mechanisms. Thus when the Salteaux of Lake Winnipeg brought

Alcoholics Anonymous chapters to their reserves the program was modified into a community-wide, nativistic, revitalization movement against the Whiteman's liquor and other evils. Membership was not anonymous, people who had never been drinkers joined, and the A.A. clubs held popular community dances.

Formal clan associations have not developed among urban U.S. and Canadian Indians, as reported in the migration of tribals to cities in Africa, for overseas Chinese, and for the Bataks in Indonesia. Kinship networks are still very important to Indians but they are loose and informal systems. The Indian powwow clubs seem to be similar in some ways to the "dancing companies" described for Sierra Leone (Little 1973) in that both are voluntary associations that perform traditional music and dances and both occasionally raise money by their performances.

Allegiances to a specific village, tribe, or region are much more often expressed through voluntary associations in Africa and appear today in the U.S. and Canada only in the moderate tribal nationalism of the large tribes and tribal confederations. These are such groups as the Iroquois, Five Civilized Tribes (Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Seminole), Sioux, Navajo, and Blackfoot (Blackfoot, Piegan, and Blood). Thus Indians do not have formal village-of-origin or region-of-origin mutual aid societies in the cities, but it is still necessary, for example, to take account of Blackfoot (south) vs. Cree (central) vs. Athabascan (north: Beaver, Chippewyan, and Slave) tribal nationalism in order to understand the factionalism within Alberta Indian voluntary associations. Ontario has a similar Iroquois (south) vs. Ojibwa (central) vs. Cree (north) ethnic division. In both provinces the southern Indians have consistently been more highly organized than those to the north. The Iroquois and Blackfoot have a stronger history of tribalism and have tended to define their modern voluntary associations with an ethnic boundary, rather than by boundaries created by White society: provincial boundaries, treaty boundaries, and Indian Affairs Branch administration boundaries.

The need for organizing mutual aid societies is also diminished by the existence of extensive government programs for Indians. The effective boundaries of Indian associations may be essentially tribal even though their stated or legal organization does not mention this. For example, Canadian treaty organizations focus on the problems of a collectivity that was historically included in a particular treaty, but these are also people of the same cultural tradition and language. For peoples like the Cree and Ojibwa these treaty associations are the most tribal-like organizations they have ever had.

U.S. and Canadian Indians do not cluster in squatter towns today as poor urban migrants do in most Latin American cities. Such Indian squatter camps were common on the outskirts of many cities in the western U.S. and Canada in the late 1800's and the early decades of this century. Some of them were subjected to an early form of urban renewal and moved into other allocated areas, such as the colonies in Reno and Carson City, Nevada (Price 1971).

They usually do not form quarters, ghettos, or even very significant residential clusters beyond the economic determination of low income leading to cheap housing, which itself tends to be clustered in cities. At the more intimate level of kinfolk and friendship there is some clustering. When this tendency is combined with relatively large scale migrations of poor Indians into the small areas of cheap housing in small cities there is some ghettoization. This is true now,

for example, in cities such as Regina, Calgary, and Winnipeg. These incipient ghettos are typically broken up over time, however, with moves to suburban areas as incomes increase.

Urban Indian Institutions

Indian ethnic institutions in the cities were largely designed and staffed by Whites as recently as ten years ago: bars, Indian centers operated by Christian Church service agencies, and government Indian service agencies. Since then, with an accelerating pace, and particularly in the last few years, Native people have been acquiring control over existing urban Indian institutions and developing entirely new ones. Most of these very new ethnic institutions are voluntary associations.

In the last twenty years there has been a significant migration of Indians from reservations and other rural communities into towns and cities in the U.S. and Canada (Price 1975C). The Indian and Eskimo population in the U.S. is now about 850,000 and roughly 350,000 of them or 41% live in towns and cities away from reservations. Of the approximately 593,000 Indians, Metis, and Eskimos in Canada about 215,000 or 36% live in urban settings away from their "reserves" or other rural communities. The greater proportion of Natives in the total population of Canada (about 2.5% vs. 0.4% in the U.S.) has meant that the impact of this urban migration is greater on Canadian cities than it is on U.S. cities.

Los Angeles County today has the most Indians of any urban area in the U.S. or Canada, somewhere around 45,000. The San Francisco-Oakland area has an estimated 20,000; Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Chicago, Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Toronto all seem to now be in the 12-20,000 range; Phoenix, Albuquerque, Denver, Seattle, Edmonton, Regina, and Montreal seem to be in the 8-12,000 range; and many other cities are in the 4-8,000 range, such as Gallup, San Diego, Fresno, Sacramento, Portland, Tacoma, Spokane, Great Falls, Rapid City, Sioux City, Duluth, Milwaukee, Buffalo, New York City, Calgary and Saskatoon.

The size of a city influences the visibility of Indian institutions, the awareness and personal concern of non-Native people for Natives, and the ease of communications between Indians. Towns and small cities generally are more discriminating against Indians than medium and large cities, particularly if they receive a large number of transient Indians from surrounding reservations. However, the Indians are extremely visible and seen as presenting a set of difficult social problems for small cities that receive a large number of relatively unacculturated Indians, such as Kenora, Ontario; The Pas, Manitoba; and Prince Rupert, British Columbia. Small cities with large populations of acculturated Indians do not have significant social problems with Indians. In Ontario this is the case in such cities as Brantford, Sarnia, and Sault Ste. Marie, where nearby reserves have become integrated into prosperous urban economies. In Toronto and Montreal, both with over two million population, the thousands of Indians in each city still constitute an "invisible" less than 1% of the total population.

There are signs that an urbanization network has become specialized for Indians and has become international in that it covers both the U.S. and Canada in such things as the essentially simultaneous appearance of specific new ethnic fashions and ideas in the current ethnic renaissance of Indians. Over two hundred

Indian periodicals have begun publication in the last decade. Most of them are based in cities but have a significant rural and reservation readership. Collectively these periodicals form an information network because the various editors read and report news from each other's papers. This "common cause" literature fosters the integration of an emerging Indian ethnic group, in spite of the tribal diversity and the predominantly rural and scattered residence of Indians.

Almost all Canadian cities and most cities in the western U.S. have some significant matrix of Indian ethnic institutions. Most of them have a predominantly Indian bar, Indian center, a few tribal clubs, and perhaps things like an Indian Christian Church and an Indian athletic league. We now have institutional studies on Saskatoon (Dosman 1972), Edmonton (Brody 1971), Winnipeg (McCaskill 1970), and Toronto (Nagler 1970) in Canada and San Francisco (Ablon 1964, Krutz 1973), Los Angeles (Price 1968), Denver (Snyder 1971), Chicago (Garbarino 1971), and New York City (Einhorn 1973) in the U.S. Native periodicals are an even more important source of data on urban Indian institutions (Price 1972).

Early Urban Institutions

The first and most prevalent Indian ethnic institutions in cities has been bars that develop a significantly Indian clientele. In hundreds of towns and cities Indians have tended to drink in particular places. This is usually in a setting of subtle discrimination and segregation today, but it has an historical basis in that it was illegal for Indians to drink in most places in the U.S. and Canada until recent years. The laws against drinking have consistently been more severe in reservation areas than in the cities so that the city became a context for drinking. The historical law in Canada was that it was illegal for Indians to manufacture, possess, or drink alcoholic beverages, but this was changed to allow drinking in designated taverns that were located away from reserves. Finally, through a series of court and legislative actions in the past two decades, even these legal restrictions were gradually removed, but the social traditions around the restriction of Indian drinking have been slow to change and still support discriminations about where Indians are allowed to drink. In some small cities Indians are typically allowed to drink only in the poorer skid row bars.

In northern Ontario and in the Prairie provinces the skid row is usually dominated by Indians (Brody 1971), although Indians there have acculturated to the cowboy lifestyle in dress, music, ranch work, and drinking patterns. There tends to be more social animation and interaction in Indian bars. People are louder, freer, more accepting of newcomers, and more mobile as they move from table to table and bar to bar. Gangs form easily for such petty crimes as rolling drunks and prostitution. Jail is a common shared experience without much stigma, for virtually every Indian who has been on skid row for a few months.

The social cliques that are formed at bars have usually been the first ethnic institutions that Indians themselves design and staff in a city. These cliques and the socializing at bars become very important to Indians because in this context they are known and respected, and through them they can enjoy life in the city. However, these cliques often acquire a counter-culture orientation that becomes dysfunctional as a long-term adaptation of individuals to city

life (Price 1975A). Indians usually have a heritage of opposition to the dominant White culture. This becomes reinforced in learning the ideology of skid row Whites, experiencing the police harassment of the skid row area, and struggling to acculturate to urban life. For these reasons the individual who has become a part of skid row society usually leaves it within a year or two and either returns to reservation life or acculturates into a different and more functional urban niche. This is usually the highly mobile time of life of young adults, typically involving short term employment and frequent movement between the reservation and the city. Urban Indians rarely fight physically among themselves according to tribal divisions. That is, one does not see one gang based on a traditional Indian tribal membership fighting other gangs, as does occur, for example, among tribals in certain African cities, such as Zabramas and Gaos against the Hausas or the Fulani in Ghana.

Social service agencies in the dominant society perceive the skid row culture in negative terms and are sympathetic with the troubles of Indian migrants to the city and the local "Indian problem". The typical pattern is for service oriented religious organizations to be the first to set up an Indian center. In Los Angeles, for example, the Society of Friends of the Quaker Church established the first center. This was later supported by local civic clubs and churches. The initial orientation of the Center was social welfare, with such things as job and family counseling and distributions of donated food and clothing. In time, however, Indians who had already achieved an urban adaptation gradually acquired control over the Center and directed the orientation away from social welfare. They set up a small, separate distribution center for welfare contributions, but the program shifted toward athletics, pow-wows, an actor's workshop to train people for the movie industry, and Indian power politics. A second Indian center was established by another Christian Church organization to fill the welfare needs of new urban migrating Indians.

Federal government programs in both the U.S. and Canada have traditionally been oriented to rural and reservation Indians so in both countries there has been a period of lag between the urban migration of Indians and the development of government services to urban Indians. Other institutions, such as churches and civic organizations have tended to work in that vacuum of government services. However, to some degree the federal government has been drawn into providing urban services to Indians. Again, there is a parallel here between the U.S. and Canada. In both countries the primary Indian agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the U.S. and the Indian Affairs Branch in Canada did not fund urban Indian centers. In the U.S. this was carried out primarily through the Office of Economic Opportunity and in Canada by the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State. The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs did become deeply involved in urban relocation with its Employment Assistance Program and helped about 100,000 Indians to relocate from reservations to urban areas and provided urban-oriented vocational training for some 25,000 household heads. The Canadian Indian Affairs Branch launched a similar urban job placement program in 1957, but the number of Native recipients of these grants has been very small compared to the U.S. program.

Later Urban Institutions

The initial stage, when the bar culture is the predominant setting of Indian institutions, still pertains to some small towns and cities, but most of the cities listed earlier with Indian populations that are over a few

thousand are into the second stage with Indian centers and elaborated kinship-friendship networks. There appears to be some lag in the development of centers and other formal ethnic institutions when the Indians come from reservations in the immediate region. When this occurs there is more "commuting" back to reserves on weekends and for vacation, less tribal diversity in the city, and a greater ramification of viable kinship-friendship networks in the city that new migrants can depend on. These networks become institutions that carry many of the same functions as a bar culture or an Indian center, and thus serve as an alternate means of entry into urban life. These networks are second stage institutions that promote and facilitate the chain-migration of Indians to cities. They operate without the social dysfunctions of bar culture and without the debilitating paternalism of non-Indian government and church agencies.

Kinship-friendship networks often operate within a tribal framework. Thus the large, tribalistic, or exclusive Indian societies may form important ethnic institutions in the city. In terms of occupational networks we know that many of the Navajo in Albuquerque went into manufacturing silver jewelry. The Iroquois in Brooklyn, New York and Navajo in Norwalk-Whittier, Los Angeles both formed early geographical enclaves in large cities, an uncommon development among U.S. and Canadian Indians.

In addition to tribal networks, there are other personal ethnic networks based on such things as powwow dancing, Indian political activism, and Indian athletic leagues and sporting events. The significance of these networks is that they promote rural-urban social interactions, friendships, and migrations.

There is usually a decrease in the number of predominantly Indian bars during the second and third stages of ethnic institutionalization because, (1) other institutions take over the social and educational functions for most new migrants, (2) centers and networks take on the function of receiving newcomers, (3) people move away from the transient skid row area to more stable homes, and (4) people more often drink in their homes and at private parties. Thus, Los Angeles, a city with some 45,000 Indians, has only three predominantly Indian bars. Toronto has about 20,000 Indians and only one predominantly Indian bar and Vancouver reportedly has no predominantly Indian bars. These cities are in a relatively mature stage of Indian ethnic institutionalization. In a Prairie city with 10,000 Indians the skid row has ten bars with a predominant or significant Indian clientele (Brody 1971). This is a city in an early stage of ethnic institutionalization, in spite of its large Indian population.

The third stage of urban ethnic institutionalization comes when the ethnic institutions cover a broad range of formal voluntary associations, such as Indian athletic leagues, Indian Christian Churches, powwow clubs, and political organizations. In the first stage of urban institutionalization, the Indians are in some ways strangers to the city and to urban life who use institutions that are entirely designed and staffed by others. They also elaborate social cliques in the bar culture but these tend to be very temporary. In the second stage they participate in the design and staffing of institutions such as Indian centers and they elaborate relatively stable kinship-friendship networks. In the third stage the Indians develop their own unique ethnic institutions, typically related to positive ethnic identity and expressions, rather than to solving the "Indian problem" as perceived in such negative terms by the majority society. Institutions are then dominated by Indian staffs, who effectively put down much of the

earlier social work style of paternalism. There are also many Indians at this stage who work in government service agencies and thereby make them more sensitive to Indian cultures. Schools, hospitals, the police-court-jail system, and so forth are themselves affected by the ethnic institutionalization process, although they are not ethnic institutions.

In a few cities (Toronto, Vancouver, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, etc.) there seems to be emerging a fourth stage in which Indians become involved in creating academic, entrepreneurial, and professional institutions. One characteristic of these fourth stage institutions is that they provide services to the general society as well as the ethnic community.

One example of a fourth stage institution is an ethnic restaurant. Canada's first restaurant to serve only Native foods is Muck-a-Muck House established in Vancouver in 1972. It has an Indian staff and specializes in Indian cooking in the style of the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands. This is very much in line with predictions from evolutionary theory since the Haida had one of the most highly evolved societies in Canada aboriginally, they survived well in historic times, in part because of their relative physical isolation on islands from the destructive deculturative influences from White society, and now they emerge in West Coast city life as sophisticated yet still somewhat culturally intact. Toronto now has an Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts, an association of professional Indian artists, including such people as Willy Dunn, Duke Redbird, and Paul Ritchie.

There seems to be a snowball effect of chain migration and increasing institutional completeness that attracts further migration. Thus, Los Angeles has the largest number of Indians, the greatest institutional completeness, and continues to be a favorite destination for new migrants. We can expect a similar development in cities such as Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. The city is more accessible when kinfolk and friends live there. And it is a more desirable, more satisfying, place to live when you have access to institutions of your own ethnicity. They carry some of the personal character of reservation communities into the urban life. Indian ethnic institutions also draw from a broader legitimization and popularity of ethnic and sub-cultural diversity in the U.S. and Canada. An ethnic ethic now permeates society so that at least the façades of cultural difference are promoted in ethnic foods, dress, arts, music, and dance. This has promoted a situation in some cities, such as Los Angeles, in which young people today consider Indianness to be one of the best possible ethnic heritages to have.

Summary

There seem to be some broad, universal similarities in the social complexity of idiocultures based on the common neurological nature of mankind. Thus, voluntary associations become increasingly important with the evolution of culture because the more complex that cultures become the greater the need there is to create neurologically simple and symbolically meaningful social enclaves, such as voluntary associations.

Voluntary associations did not exist in band level societies because life was lived out in small, simple communities. Band societies tended not to develop voluntary associations on reservations of the historic period and have only now begun to participate in them as they move into an urbanizing world. Some tribal level cultures had a few voluntary associations aboriginally and, if they

survived their generally devastating early relationships with Whites, they tended to develop reactive voluntary associations in historic times. Chiefdoms had a still greater elaboration of voluntary associations and these people tended to be involved as founders in the earliest modern, pan-Indian voluntary associations, such as the Northwest Coast Indian fisherman's unions.

Evolutionary processes have also occurred both within the general system of twentieth century Indian voluntary associations and within those in cities. The general system has seen gradual shifts toward anti-assimilation, toward control and design of associations by less acculturated Indians, toward more involvement by women without the traditional styles of political behavior, and toward a much greater number of both general and functionally specialized voluntary associations. In the evolution of urban Indian ethnic associations I hypothesized four stages marked by the predominant social creations of (1) informal bar cliques, (2) urban kinship-friendship networks, (3) voluntary associations, and finally (4) academic, entrepreneurial, and professional institutions that serve the general society as well as the specific ethnic society.

Native peoples have the most rural residence of any sizeable ethnic population in the U.S. or Canada and they are now rapidly undergoing an urban integration of their reserves, urban migration, and the creation of new Indian ethnic cultures in the cities. Just as previous generations of anthropologists recorded the amazing diversity and richness of aboriginal and historical Native cultures, today's social scientists now have the obligation and opportunity to record the rapid birth of a new urban-centered Indian ethnic culture. We now need detailed historical and ethnographic descriptions of urban Indian institutions while they are in this important period of creation.

APPENDIX 1

The Case of Toronto

In 1951 the North American Indian Club of Toronto was formed, primarily as an organization of Whites and Indians who held common interests in the history, arts, crafts, and dances of traditional Native cultures. That organization, with over 500 active members, is still going strong in the 1970's. The Indians in Toronto at the time of the Club's founding were mostly mixed-bloods and acculturated Indians from the Iroquois Six Nations Reserve and Ojibwa from relatively assimilated Indian populations in southern Ontario. Many of the men had served in the military during World War II and preferred to take a job in an urban area rather than return to reserve life. Then, in the 1950's the less acculturated Indians from the more northerly reserves began to come into Toronto and other Canadian cities.

The presence of Natives in towns and cities created a higher visibility and awareness than earlier of the differences and conflicts between the dominant White culture and the Native cultures. For example, Indians had learned different patterns of drinking and drunken comportment than urban Whites: public rather than private drinking, expressing aggression in more physical than verbal ways while drinking, more often drinking in the northern frontier style of periodic binges to complete drunkenness, and so forth. White laws were used without question to suppress and control these early frontier modes of drunken comportment, leading to extremely high arrest and incarceration rates of Native people. The arrest rates in Canada are about five times higher for Indians than for non-Indians (Price 1975A). In another sphere the White designed and operated school system failed to relate to Native cultures, thus failing to retain most Native students beyond their age of puberty. These and other Indian-White cultural conflicts constituted what Whites usually called "the Indian problem".

In 1958 a number of people who recognized "the plight of Canadian Indians" persuaded the Canadian Association of Adult Education to set up a National Commission on Indian Canadians. The objective of this commission was to collect information and make recommendations about national Indian policies. Following an Indian-Metis Conference, the Winnipeg Indian-Metis Friendship Centre was established in 1959 primarily as a counseling and referral service for urban Native migrants. This became a model for later urban Indian centres in Canada. By 1960 it was obvious that Eskimos faced many of the same kinds of problems as Indians and that Native peoples would have to play a leading role in policy decisions if the decisions were to be effective. Thus, in 1960 the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada was formed, with a head office and library in Toronto, and eventually other offices in Winnipeg and Ottawa.

In 1961 the North American Indian Club of Toronto influenced a number of non-Indian individuals and organizations into forming a Special Committee on Indian Services within the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. This committee evaluated the existing services of the Central Neighborhood House and the Anglican Information Centre; set up a mechanism to coordinate services to Indians; and in 1963 endorsed the Indian Centre of Toronto. About half of the people on the Centre's board of directors were Indians.

Fifty-two urban Indian centres (often called "friendship centres") had been formed in Canada by 1975, in part because of a $25 million federal government granting program: Quebec 1, Ontario 12, Manitoba 7, Saskatchewan 5,

Alberta 8, B.C. 16, Yukon 1, and N.W.T. 2. These proportions coincide with what we would predict from historical, evolutionary, and urbanization theories. That is, although Quebec has a large Native population, French Canada has been more successfully assimilative than British Canada, so Quebec has very few formal Indian ethnic institutions - an "historical" condition. There is a correlation between the aboriginal evolutionary level of the Native societies within a province and the modern elaboration of formal institutions in the province. Thus B.C. had chiefdoms aboriginally and now has the most urban Indian centres - an evolutionary condition. Finally, Ontario's generally high level of urbanization apparently has promoted the urbanization of its Native people and the elaboration of urban Indian institutions.

The functions of urban Indian centres are broadly defined as counseling and referral, social, and educational. Many centres sponsor publications, classes on Indian history, handicraft workshops, and powwow dancing clubs. Daily activities at Toronto's Canadian Indian Centre include such things as ping-pong, Weight Watchers, Ojibwa lessons, Native cooking, television and film viewing, and dinners. The sports director arranges with community schools and clubs for physical activities such as swimming, volleyball, hockey, skating, bowling, tennis, and softball. On Sundays an Indian chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous has its meeting there. Then there may be displays of Native arts and classes on Native foods, languages, and so forth.

The Toronto Centre helps to support summer camps at rural reserves where Native children from urban areas are sent to learn Native crafts, arts, and traditions, as well as to have the usual summer camping experiences. People at the Centre also support the regional round of powwow dances and festivals, including a week of programs and a permanent crafts booth at Ontario Place, a provincial entertainment facility in Toronto's lakefront. The Centre provides legal advice and a court worker service and has an annual Christmas Party.

Other associations (mostly "voluntary") based in Toronto are as follows:

1. Anduhyan, a sponsored residence for newly arrived young Indian girls in the city.
2. Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts.
3. Canadian Indian Ladies' Auxiliary.
4. Donner Native Scholarship Program.
5. Indian Craft Foundation.
6. Iroquois and Allied Tribes.
7. Manitou Arts Foundation.
8. Metis and Non-Status Indian Association of Ontario.
9. Native Big Brothers and Sisters.
10. Native Children's Program.
11. Nishnawbe Institute, interested in promoting traditional religion and the annual Indian Ecumenical Conference.
12. North American Indian Club.
13. Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres.
14. Ontario Natives Development Fund.
15. Ontario Native League for Youth.
16. Union of Ontario Indians, the major political organization of the Ojibwa and Cree in the province.
17. Wenjack, the local chapter of the American Indian Movement.
18. Wigwamen, a housing association for Native people in Toronto.

APPENDIX 2

Classifications of Modern Associations

A few political associations came on the scene early in this century, but like the other types, they have vastly increased in numbers in the last few years. These are "political" in that they see as their central purpose the changing of government policies, the development of new programs for Indians, and the administration of some programs by the political Indian association itself. In practice, the successful ones become large and multi-functional associations, eventually spinning off other specialized associations as their programs develop. Thus associations such as the All-Pueblo Council or The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood have stimulated the development of recreation associations, education associations, welfare associations, and so forth. Others are not much more really than a half a dozen or so young and enthusiastic Indians working on some local problems and perhaps publishing a monthly newsletter.

The provincial level of "brotherhoods" and other political associations is particularly important in Canada because (1) Indian land "reserves" are very small and numerous (2,281 vs. 270 reservations in the U.S.), (2) Indian "bands", the official units of government administration are small and numerous (561), (3) an intermediate level of Indian organizations was needed between the bands and the Indian Affairs Branch in the national capital at Ottawa but was never created by the federal government, and (4) the provincial voluntary associations evolved to fill that important intermediate gap. Political power in the U.S. is diffusely spread across a wide variety of associations, but much more of it is retained by formally constituted Indian tribes than by the bands of Canada.

Table 1 gives a tabulation of Native voluntary associations in Canada by area according to the data of the National Indian Brotherhood (Whiteside 1973). Their information is complete enough on political associations to present these by date of formation, as well as area of jurisdiction. The table shows a progressive increase in the rate of formation of voluntary political associations, particularly with a general burst of activities in the 1960's and then a phenomenal rate in the first three years of the 1970's. Most of these have lasted no more than a few years, although the same people often participate in one association after another.

Areal analysis shows the markedly greater activity of British Columbia; presumably because of such factors as the aboriginal sophistication of the coastal cultures, their early history of acculturation, and their relatively large populations. The Prairie provinces and Ontario are, as expected by these same factors, in the middle range. Quebec, which does have a large Native population, has had a different acculturation experience than English Canada, one that has not greatly stimulated associational activities. The exceptions in Quebec tend to be among English speaking Natives, such as the Iroquois, and the recent active resistance to the James Bay Hydroelectric Dam Project. The Maritimes have had few associations because the Indians there were aboriginally of the band level and they now have small Native populations. Acculturation and communication have been generally slower to develop in the northern territories and the Natives there were band level aboriginally, so we see little associational activity there.

TABLE 1

NATIVE ASSOCIATIONS IN CANADA BY AREA

Political Associations by Date of Formation

	Pre-1900	1900-19	1920-39	1940-59	1960-69	1970-73	Others	Totals
National		1	2	2	2	6	14	27
Regional	4	1	5	1	1	1		13
Maritimes				1	4	7	3	15
Quebec	1	1	2	1	3	5	5	18
Ontario	1	1	2	3	6	7	41	61
Manitoba				2	2	7	39	50
Saskatchewan			2	7	1	4	28	42
Alberta			3	2	4	2	42	53
B.C.	1	3	3	5	8	2	48	70
N.W.T.			1		2	4	5	12
Yukon					2	3	5	10
TOTALS	7	7	20	24	35	48	230	371

Another way of analyzing associations is in terms of their periodical literature, mostly monthly newsletters, but including a few high quality newspapers, magazines, and journals. Table 2 gives a tabulation of 255 periodicals that are oriented for Indian, Metis, or Eskimo readership in Canada (67) or in the U.S. (188). Of the Canadian publications eight are published in Vancouver, seven in Ottawa, six in Winnipeg, five in Regina, and four in Toronto. In the United States ten periodicals come from both greater Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., seven from the San Francisco Bay area, six from New York City, and five from Chicago. Slightly more of the Canadian periodicals (57%) are published in cities than in the U.S. (50%). Also specific tribal ethnicity is more important in the U.S. list than in the Canadian list. The Canadian Indian organizations tend to divide by province and community or status vs. non-status and not so much into specific tribal groups. The Canadian exceptions are predominantly in the separatism of the Blackfoot and related tribes in southern Alberta and the Iroquoian tribes of southern Ontario and Quebec. Thus Canada does not have the urban based proliferation of specific tribal associations, such as the clubs formed by the Navajo and Cherokee.

My list of Native periodicals more than doubled in the two years from the 112 compiled in 1971 (Price 1972) to 255 by the end of 1973. The increases in the list were marked for those coming from new organizations in the national capitals of Ottawa and Washington, D.C., from the Canadian north and from Eskimos, from Indian women's groups, from prisons, and from boarding schools, high schools, and colleges. The periodicals of Ottawa and Washington are both those of government agencies and the political lobbies of ethnic associations. Newsletters specifically related to legislation and legal services have been added in Washington, D.C. (2), Albuquerque, and Berkeley. New York City, like Ottawa and Washington, D.C., has only a small population of Natives but publishes several social welfare oriented periodicals concerned with Native life.

The proliferation of periodicals in a single city is usually a product of the proliferation of ethnic associations. We see this, for example in Vancouver which has one general protest newsletter, a private national newspaper, and then periodicals by the federal government, a provincial education agency, an Indian women's organization, the Native Brotherhood of B.C., the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, and the B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians. There are also several Native associations in Vancouver which do not publish periodicals.

Table 2 shows the lower levels of activity in the Maritimes and Quebec, the proliferation in Ontario, and generally a high level of activity across the rest of Canada. A low figure occurs in Alberta in part because of the dominance of two strong and widely distributed periodicals, Kainai News among the Plains people who speak the Blackfoot-Piegan-Blood language in the south and The Native People among the more Sub-Arctic peoples who speak Cree and the Sekani-Beaver-Sarsi language in the north. The U.S. distribution shows some intensity of activity in the populous urban states of New York and Illinois and the central Indian states of the Dakotas and Oklahoma, but very high levels of activity in New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Washington. Table 2 also compares area proportions for periodicals, status Indian populations, and the provincial and local associations given in Table 1. (page 24)

Using data from several sources, including periodicals and recent directories (particularly Whiteside 1972 and National Congress of American Indians 1973), I have classified 839 Indian voluntary associations in Canada (426) and the U.S. (413)

TABLE 2

NATIVE PERIODICALS BY AREA

Canada

	Number	Proportions		
		Periodicals	Status Indians	Associations
Maritimes	2	3%	4%	5%
Quebec	4	6%	11%	5%
Ontario	19	28%	22%	18%
Manitoba	8	12%	14%	15%
Saskatchewan	10	15%	14%	13%
Alberta	4	6%	12%	16%
B.C.	9	13%	19%	21%
Territories	11	17%	4%	7%
TOTALS	67	100%	100%	100%

U.S.A.

	Number	Proportions		
		Periodicals	Periodicals By Area Grouping	
New England	5	2.7%		
New York	9	4.8%	14.9%	East
Other East Coast	14	7.4%		
Illinois	7	3.7%		
North Dakota	8	4.3%		
South Dakota	14	7.4%	28.7%	Central
Oklahoma	10	5.3%		
Other Central	15	8.0%		
Montana	7	3.7%		
Wyoming	1	.5%		
Idaho	1	.5%	10.0%	Mountain
Colorado	3	1.6%		
Utah	3	1.6%		
Nevada	4	2.1%		
New Mexico	14	7.4%		
Arizona	16	8.5%	35.6%	Southwest
California	37	19.7%		
Oregon	3	1.6%		
Washington	12	6.4%	10.7%	Pacific
Alaska	5	2.7%		
TOTALS	188	99.9%		

according to their predominant functions and their effective geographical spheres of activity. This classification is given in Table 3. (page 29)

The "social" category includes recreation, sports, and dance groups; most of the youth clubs; and organizations concerned with such things as the Native Princess Pageant in Canada and the Big Sky Handgame Tournament in Browning, Montana. Urban centres are now numerous in both the U.S. and Canada but are more financially secure in Canada because of a large scale federal funding program for such centres. Canada also has one national and at least four provincial associations of Indian centres. The "economic, welfare" category includes economic cooperatives, development associations, housing associations, job training and placement groups, health and medical aid groups, and so forth. The Northwest Ontario Native Fisherman's Association is an example of this category. "Education, school clubs" includes Indian associations for the improvement of education and the correction of bias in texts, youth clubs established at schools, and various types of communication associations, a few of which now have regularly scheduled local radio or television programs. The B.C. Native Teachers' Association and the American Indian Press Association are examples of this category.

The "Metis, non-status" split from the "status" Indians, who are recognized as lawful recipients of the services of the Indian Affairs Branch, is unique in its importance in Canada. The same split between those who are and those who are not eligible for federal Indian services exists in the U.S., but it has not become an important factor in voluntary associations in the U.S. Most of the Metis or non-status associations included here are multi-functional with a prominent political orientation and thus could have been included in the general political category, except that they are fairly distinct organizations in Canada. Other specialized Metis groups have been included in the special functional categories. Thus, for example, in Vancouver a Metis Women's Craft Society was included in the category of "arts, crafts".

Women's associations are also more important in Canada than in the U.S. because of extensive conflicts among the Native people of Canada over women's rights. The Indian Act of Canada takes a woman's legal Indian status away from her whenever she marries a person who is not a status Indian, but any woman who marries a status Indian can acquire Indian status. In line with these procedures there are a lot of problems over the status of children, the rights to reside on reserves, the rights to be buried on reserves, and so forth. Most of these associations could, like the Metis groups, be considered as having a specialized political function. The B.C. Native Women's Society is an example in this category.

"Arts, crafts" groups include local women's and youth clubs focused on Native arts and crafts. This category includes such groups as the Salish Weavers Association and crafts organizations that help to sell products. The "religious" category is mostly Indian Christian and formally organized traditional Indian churches, as well as such things as The Indian Ecumenical Conference that is organized annually by the Nishnawbe Institute. The dozens of local chapters of the Native American Church are not counted. Indian clubs within prisons have suddenly become popular and we can expect to see large increases in this category in the next few years. The "legal" category includes mostly Native courtworker associations at the local level and legal aid or legal research societies at the regional and national levels.

TABLE 3

NATIVE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS BY PRIMARY FUNCTION

Canada

	Local	Provincial-Regional	National	Total
Political	50	40	6	96
Social	85	6	2	93
Urban Centres	51	4	1	56
Economic, Welfare	32	15	1	48
Education, School Clubs	32	5	4	41
Metis, Non-Status	12	12	1	25
Women's Associations	8	15	2	25
Arts, Crafts	16	4	-	20
Religious	7	1	2	10
Prison, Parole	6	-	-	6
Legal	1	5	-	6
TOTALS	300	107	19	426

U.S.A.

	Local	State-Regional	National	Total
Political	62	34	8	104
Social	62	4	5	71
Urban Centres	49	-	-	49
Economic, Welfare	23	3	3	29
Education, School Clubs	47	16	6	69
Women's Associations	7	-	-	7
Arts, Crafts	9	4	4	17
Religious	31	6	6	43
Prison, Parole	9	-	-	9
Legal	4	6	5	15
TOTALS	303	73	37	413
Canada and U.S. TOTALS	603	180	56	839

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